

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 00940 01 OF 02 032233Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----108809 032237Z /61  
O 031855Z MAR 78 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7832

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 DAR ES SALAAM 0940

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, TZ  
SUBJECT: NYERERE LETTER FOR PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 0939

1. PRESIDENT NYERERE'S PERSONAL ASSISTANT DELIVERED COPY OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER TO MY HOUSE NIGHT OF MARCH 3 WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE'S REQUEST FOR URGENT TRANSMISSION TONIGHT TO PRESIDENT CARTER. ORIGINAL WILL BE SENT THROUGH TANZANIAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON. LETTER FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT:DEAR PRESIDENT CARTER,  
TODAY I HAVE HAD TWO LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH YOUR AMBASSADOR TO TANZANIAN ABOUT RHODESIA, AND IN PARTICULAR ABOUT MY CONVICTION THAT ONLY THE IMMEDIATE CALLING OF A FULL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAN SAVE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND THE CHANCES OF A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER IN ZIMBABWE. AMBASSADOR SPAIN WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SENDING A FULL REPORT TO YOU. THE PURPOSE OF THIS LETTER IS THEREFORE TO EMPHASIZE THE INTENSITY OF MY WORRY ABOUT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, AND TO OUTLINE THE MAIN BASIS OF THAT WORRY.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WERE ACCEPTED BY AFRICA,  
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BACKED UP BY THE UNITED NATIONS, AND ACCEPTED AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BY ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS OF ZIMBABWE. I MYSELF HAVE BEEN WORKING ACTIVELY IN SUPPORT OF THESE PROPOSALS, PARTICULARLY WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, ONLY URGING CLARIFICATION AND NEGOTIATION ABOUT THE DETAILS OF THE RESPECTIVE POWERS TO BE HELD BY LORD CARVER AND THE ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS DURING THE INTERIM BEFORE ELECTIONS.

THE MEETING BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS AND DAVID OWEN AND ANDREW YOUNG, HELD IN JANUARY AT MALTA, WENT WELL; PROGRESS WAS MADE ACCORDING TO THE REPORTS I RECEIVED. BUT SINCE THEN THERE HAS BEEN NO FURTHER ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. INSTEAD THERE HAS BEEN MORE WAITING TO SEE WHAT COMES OUT OF THE SALISBURY TALKS, AND EVEN SOME STATEMENTS IN BOTH BRITAIN AND AMERICA INDICATING THAT PERHAPS THE 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' MIGHT AFTER ALL PRODUCE A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.

I AM EXTREMELY WORRIED ABOUT THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH A CONTINUED FAILURE BY BRITAIN AND AMERICA TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE FROM SMITH. FOR I AM CONVINCED THAT SMITH'S PURPOSE HAS NOT CHANGED AT ALL; HE STILL WANTS TO MAINTAIN THE POWER OF THE MINORITY IN RHODESIA. THE COMBINATION OF PRESSURES WHICH HAVE BEEN MOUNTED AGAINST HIM, HOWEVER, HAVE FORCED SMITH TO ADOPT A NEW STRATEGY, AND NEW TACTICS. BUT THE PURPOSE OF THE NEW TACTICS IS THE DISSIPATION OF THE PRESSURES. HE NOW SEEKS TO CREATE THE FACADE OF A GOVERNMENT IN WHICH BLACKS ARE INVOLVED, AND PERHAPS EVEN IN A MAJORITY, BUT IN WHICH THE LEVERS OF REAL POWER ARE ALL CONTROLLED BY THE MINORITY.

WHAT SMITH DOES WANT, AND WHAT HE BELIEVES HE MAY BE ABLE TO GET BY HIS 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' IS FOR AMERICA  
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AND BRITAIN AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS TO GIVE SOME KIND OF RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT TO ANY GOVERNMENT HE MANAGES TO SET UP IN SALISBURY. IDEALLY HE HOPES TO GET WESTERN HELP IN FIGHTING THE NATIONALIST GUERRILLAS, BUT EVEN IF THAT DOES NOT MATERIALISE, HE BELIEVES THAT BEHIND THE FACADE OF SUCH A GOVERNMENT HE CAN GET AN END TO THE PRESENT ANGLO-AMERICAN PRESSURES IN SUPPORT OF A REAL TRANSFER OF POWER WITHIN ZIMBABWE.

BY THE INTEREST WHICH IS NOW BEING EXPRESSED IN THE 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' AND ITS OUTCOME, I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE IN GRAVE DANGER OF FALLING INTO THIS TRAP. I DO UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH THIS SMITH STRATEGY CAUSES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN PARTICULAR, AND YOUR OWN ADMINISTRATION TO SOME EXTENT. BUT IF MY ANALYSIS OF SMITH'S OBJECTIVES IS CORRECT - AND I THINK EVERY DAY'S EVENTS SUPPORT IT - THEN THE EFFECT OF A FAILURE TO ACT NOW IN SUPPORT OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS IS LIKELY TO BE DISASTROUS.

FIRST, IT WILL FINALLY CONVINCE THE 'INTERNAL NATIONALISTS' THAT THEY WERE RIGHT IN DISREGARDING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS: THIS WILL MEAN A FINAL POLARISATION OF

THE DIVISIONS AMONG THE DIFFERENT AFRICAN GROUPS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0940

NODIS CHEROKEE

SECONDLY, BECUASE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL BE QUITE  
UNABLE TO ACCEPT A 'SETTLEMENT' WHICH LEAVES THE MINORITY  
POWER VIRTUALLY INTACT, THEY WILL STEP UP THE WAR. WE SILL  
CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THAT WAR. BUT THERE WILL BE IMMENSE  
PRESSURES ON YOUR GOVERNMENT, AND THAT OF BRITAIN, TO GIVE  
ACTIVE SUPPORT TO THE SO-CALLED NEW REGIME IN SALISBURY AS  
IT 'FIGHTS AGAINST COMMUNISM'. EVEN IF IT IS POSSIBLE FOR  
YOUR ADMINISTRATION, AND THAT OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN  
BRITAIN, TO WITHSTAND SUCH PRESSURES, YOU WOULD PROBABLY FIND  
IT NECESSARY AT LEAST TO WITHDRAW YOUR ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO  
THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT. IN THAT CASE, THE WEST WILL AGAIN  
FIND ITSELF IN OPPOSITION TO THE VAST MAJORITY OF AFRICAN  
STATES, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE FRONT LINE STATES. AND YOU,  
MR. PRESIDENT, WILL HAVE LOST A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY IN AFRICA.

YET I BELIEVE THAT EVEN NOW, IF THERE IS ACTION  
QUICKLY ENOUGH, IT IS POSSIBLE TO RESCUE THE SITUATION AND  
AVOID THE EVILS WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO OUTLINE ABOVE. I  
THEREFORE WROTE A FEW DAYS AGO TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN,  
URGING AS STRONGLY AS I AM ABLE TO DO THAT BRITAIN SHOULD  
CALL A FULL-SCALE CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA, TO DISCUSS AND  
FINALISE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THIS WOULD INVOLVE  
AN INVITATION TO ALL THOSE RHODESIANS INVOLVED IN THE  
STRUGGLE - THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS WELL AS THE 'INTERNAL  
NATIONALISTS'. AND THE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO NARROW THE

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DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT REGARDING THE POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, AND TO SEE WHAT POSITIVE ELEMENTS CAN BE TAKEN FROM THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT AND INCLUDED IN A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

AMBASSADOR SPAIN HAS EXPLAINED TO ME THE WORRY WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS ABOUT THIS SUGGESTION. YOU FEAR THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE MIGHT FAIL, AND BELIEVE THAT IF IT DOES THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WOULD THEN BE FINISHED AS PRACTICAL POLITICS.

MY OWN VIEW IS DIFFERENT. I ACCEPT THAT THERE IS A RISK INVOLVED IN CALLING THE CONFERENCE, BUT I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GREATER RISK IN FAILING TO DO SO. FOR A FAILURE TO CALL SUCH A CONFERENCE IS CERTAIN TO BE THE END OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

I CERTAINLY KNOW THAT IT IS GOING TO BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO GIVE ANY MORE SUPPORT TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS ONCE THE PRESENT 'INTEREST IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' HAS GONE MUCH FURTHER ALONG ITS PRESENT DRIFT TOWARDS A KIND OF SYMPATHY WITH THEM. OF COURSE I CAN ONLY SPEAK FOR MYSELF, BUT I IMAGINE THAT MY COLLEAGUES IN THE OTHER FRONT LINE STATES WILL FIND THEMSELVES IN A SIMILAR POSITION. WE ALL WANT THE WAR IN ZIMBABWE TO BE BROUGHT TO AN END. BUT WE CANNOT ACCEPT A MIRAGE AS IF IT WERE A REALITY, AND PEACE WOULD NOT LAST VERY LONG EVEN IF WE TRIED TO DO SO.

THUS, AS I SEE IT, IF SUCH A CONFERENCE SHOULD FAIL, THE WORST THAT CAN HAPPEN IS A CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT POSITION IN WHICH THE WEST AND AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD ARE ON THE SAME SIDE, LOOKING FORWARD TO A TRANSFER OF  
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POWER TO THE MAJORITY IN RHODESIA. BUT IF THE CONFERENCE IS NOT CALLED, THEN IT IS HIGHLY PROBABLE THAT AFRICA AND THE WEST WILL FIND THEMSELVES MOVING INEVITABLY INTO IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS OVER RHODESIA, WITH AT LEAST THE POSSIBILITY OF A KIND OF VIETNAM SITUATION DEVELOPING. I HAVE MADE THIS VERY CLEAR, BOTH TO YOUR AMBASSADOR AND TO THE BRITISH ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER.

THE TROUBLE IS THAT I SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF THIS KIND OF THING HAPPENING VERY FAST - EVEN WITHIN A FEW DAYS. THERE ARE TIMES WHEN ONE HAS TO ACT QUICKLY OR THE OPPORTUNITY HAS GONE, AND I BELIEVE THIS IS ONE OF THEM. YET EVEN NOW I THINK WE COULD STILL JUST 'SEIZE TIME BY THE COAT-TAILS'

THROUGH AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT BECAUSE YOUR GOVERNMENTS DO NOT  
ACCEPT THE 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT', BRITAIN - WITH AMERICA'S  
FULL BACKING - IS CALLING A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO  
REACH A SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN  
PROPOSALS.

MR. PRESIDENT: FORGIVE ME FOR THIS LONG LETTER,  
IN THE REALISATION THAT IT COMES OUT OF THE DEPTH OF MY  
CONCERN TO MAINTAIN THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES  
AND OUR ACTIVE COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF  
HUMAN EQUALITY AND FREEDOM WHICH WE BOTH SHARE.

YOURS VERY SINCERELY,  
END TEXT.  
SPAIN

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## Message Attributes

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